

Football Premiership: Liverpool 5 Nottingham Forest 1

Teenage striker in a class of his Owen

Daniel Taylor at Anfield

THE WORD "burn-out" clearly does not exist in Michael Owen's vocabulary. While the game's maverick psychologists have been pontificating about his durability, Owen provided the perfect riposte with an irresistible display of attacking play, capped by four goals that elevated him back to the top of the Premiership scoring charts. Here was a truly world-class footballer.

Owen emphatically answered any lingering fears for his well-being in the aftermath of a punishing schedule of 84 senior appearances in a remarkable 17 months. This was a performance full of zest and running, with two goals in each half to leave joint managers Gerard Houllier and Roy Evans vindicating their controversial decision to rest their club's most prized asset for the mid-week stalemate against Valencia in the UEFA Cup.

"He'd accepted our decision earlier in the week, but, like any kid, he always wants to play," said Evans. "If we asked him to play every day, twice a day, he would say yes. But, as his entourage, we have to think about his well-being and he had looked tired in the last week. England won't rest him, so it's up to us to take that on board."

"Every goal was a great finish and he's obviously going to take the limelight, but the most important thing is that, after a spell when the team did not look the part, we were back on song."

The bookmakers responded to



Final score... Michael Owen eludes his fourth, and Liverpool's fifth, in the rout of Forest. PHOTO: DARRIN WALSH

his latest effort by slashing Owen from 9-4 to 1-3 to finish top Premiership scorer this season. Reckless at Anfield, was the hosts' suspect defence. Steve Stone, marked by Owen left his employers in no doubt about his form, despite having scored only two goals in the previous 11 matches.

Within 10 minutes he was taking the acclaim of the crowd when, from Karlheinz Riedle's through-ball, a finished exquisitely into the top cor-

ner of Dave Beasant's net without breaking stride. Not for the first time, however, the get-out clause for a visiting team at Anfield was the hosts' suspect defence. Steve Stone, marked by Owen left his employers in no doubt about his form, despite having scored only two goals in the previous 11 matches.

Shortly, it was Forest's turn to ask the questions, but the defensive errors were not confined solely to the home side, and normal service was resumed in the 53rd minute as Owen and Patrick Buehler combined to set up the unmarked McManis for his first goal at Anfield in 12 months. He gave Beasant little chance with a scintillating right-foot drive from 12 yards after an horrendous mistake by captain Steve Chet-

he had caught his defensive legacies cold.

The absence of Pierre Vanhille, who has later been confirmed, but his summer departure of 10,000, in Middle-through, during the side of his leadership, has been equally detrimental to a team who have taken 10 points from their last seven matches.

Forest played into Owen's hands by choosing to defend close to half-way line, rather than sit deep and denying the lightning striker the space he craves for his surging runs. Jon Dow Hedges, guilty of half-watching as the impetuous Owen accepted a risky pass before producing a cool left-foot finish from the edge of the area to increase Liverpool's advantage seven minutes before a break.

The hat-trick was completed by the penalty spot in the 71st minute after Rogers had opened the edge of the penalty area, and crowd did not have long to wait before his fourth. Accepting a throw from goalkeeper James, Owen's lightning quick was too much for Thierry Bosc and, although his first effort was going to make a mistake with the bound.

Owen led the fight to a standard, while Forest were left with a 2-1 lead. The defensive errors were not confined solely to the home side, and normal service was resumed in the 53rd minute as Owen and Patrick Buehler combined to set up the unmarked McManis for his first goal at Anfield in 12 months. He gave Beasant little chance with a scintillating right-foot drive from 12 yards after an horrendous mistake by captain Steve Chet-

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Week ending November 8, 1998

The Guardian Weekly

Greenhouse effect worse than feared

Paul Brown

THE swaths of the planet will be plunged into misery by climate change in the next 50 years, with many millions ravaged by hunger, water shortages, and flooding, according to evidence published this week.

Findings from Britain's Hadley Centre for Climate Change presented to 170 countries meeting in Buenos Aires for talks on global warming show that parts of the Amazon rain forest will turn into desert by 2050, threatening the world with an unstoppable greenhouse effect.

The startling findings are the result of billions of calculations made by the world's biggest supercomputer at the Hadley Centre in Berkshire. The figures show the earth is heating up fast, with 1998 already the hottest year since reliable records began 140 years ago.

Among the findings are:
1 Land temperatures will go up 6C by the end of the next century.
2 The number of people on the subject to flooding each year will rise from 5 million now to 100 million by 2050, and 200 million by 2080.

Another 10 million people will be hungry in 10 years because it will be too dry to grow crops in large parts of Africa.
3 An extra 170 million people will live in countries with extreme water shortages.

4 Malaria, one of the world's most feared diseases, will threaten much larger areas of the world — including Europe — by 2050.

The new predictions include far better representations of ocean currents, which drive the world's climate. The Gulf Stream, which is important for warming Britain in the winter, will be 20 per cent weaker in future, but Europe will still warm considerably resulting in more extreme weather conditions.

The impact on food supply will be particularly bad for Africa and the United States. The whole of central

and southern Africa will have reduced ability to grow single crops, but in world political terms the adverse effects on the US prairies is likely to prove most important.

Wheat and maize yields will drop by up to 10 per cent, and since the vast surplus of the US wheat belt is vital to the country's wealth and its hold on world food supplies, this prediction will be bad news for future US administrations.

The US stands accused of building up links designed to reduce the world's output of carbon dioxide, so it is ironic that on the first day of the two-week meeting in Argentina the latest includes show that the US will be among the countries most severely affected. Canada, on the other hand, will see its wheat production increase by 2.5 per cent.

Crashes the most startling finding is the prospect of a runaway greenhouse effect after 2050. It has been thought that the speed of global warming would be moderated by the extra growth in plants and trees. The latest information shows that this benefit will be lost in 2050 because of lack of rainfall in key areas. Worst affected will be northern Brazil, where the Amazon rain forest will turn into desert, and part of the eastern US and southern Europe.

Sea levels throughout the world will rise 21cm by 2050. The coasts of the southern Mediterranean, Egypt, West and East Africa, South and Southeast Asia are most vulnerable.

Increased warmth leads to a dramatic rise in the number of malaria cases where the disease is already endemic. It is already spreading north (Italy had an outbreak last year) — and is expected to reach the Baltic by 2050.

Leapfrog forward, page 27

Crime soars in lawless Russia 5

Schröder faces fiery baptism 6

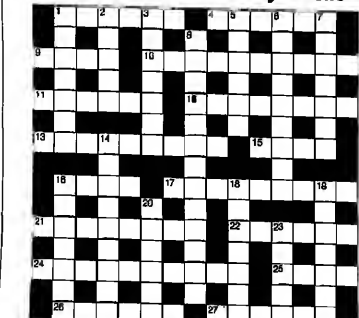
Mystery deepens as minister quits 9

Banking on the poor makes sense 25

Vanity keeps Wolfe from door 33

Austria	ASBO	Meta	50c
Belgium	50c	Netherlands	50c
Denmark	50c	Portugal	50c
France	50c	Spain	50c
Germany	50c	Sweden	50c
Greece	50c	Switzerland	50c
Italy	50c		

Cryptic crossword by Fidelio



Across

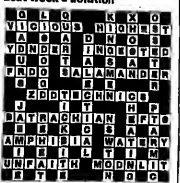
- Back room boy was born of Finnish minority (6)
- Cautely, Cuavara went after Sancy to capture beauty (8)
- He consumed rice (4)
- Steps taken by the charmed one? (5, 5)
- Hardy partner is evergreen (8)
- Centres revealed by microsome comparisons (6)
- Tents and a river are by this tower (9)
- Sound from horn player in social gathering at up end (4)
- Pound is last character in age (4)

Down

- Feeling displayed by young boxer, say (5, 4)
- Rear rider (celles ahead in lines (8)
- Fix this time, only (6)
- Sun and place found on the beach (10)
- The convulsive let these out (4)
- One going without the laser (8)
- Judge to be supine, perhaps (8)
- Garland maid for this lady? (7)
- Turner expert is found in tales (5)
- Leaflets of Langerhans production (7)

- A hollow where a dwarf is to be found (6)
- Pilot skillfully at this house? (5)
- Shell case badly out (7)
- It's said of patron, poet obtains a degree (13)
- Area at back for bird (6)
- Red male produces green stone (7)
- Table dish and a unit (7)
- Not like the H. G. man (7)
- Reportedly rotten for 10 years (5)
- His wisp because of John Edrich's operators with South American (5)

Last week's solution



Cricket Third Test: Pakistan v Australia

Series win for Australia

AUSTRALIAN cricketers celebrated their first series victory in Pakistan for 39 years as the third and final Test ended in a draw in Karachi. Ijaz Ahmed, with an unbeaten 120, and Mohi Khan, who made 75, rescued Pakistan from a precarious 75 for four by putting on 153 for the fifth wicket.

The victors, who won the series 1-0 thanks to their victory by an innings and 99 runs in the first Test in Rawalpindi, seemed in sight of a second win, only to miss two crucial catches.

First Ijaz was dropped by skipper Mark Taylor off Glenn McGrath on two, while Mohi got his extra life on 30 when Mark Waugh applied a chance at slip off Stuart McGill.

Test last partnership Colin Miller had taken three early wickets to leave Pakistan struggling, but the hosts recovered to finish on 242 for five having been set a daunting 419 to win.

Australia had a first-innings lead of 28 after bowling out Pakistan for 252. Only Amir Sohail offered any resistance against the opposition's attack.

He went on to make a brave, dispatched 133, holding together a side that was falling to pieces. His fifth Test century, and first as captain, took almost six hours and came from 272 balls. It included 18 fours and a six.

Phil Dunson

THE death toll from the worst storm to hit Central America this century seemed likely to exceed 7,000, as desperately overstretched emergency services sought to bring order to the chaos.

The director of the Honduran national emergency committee, Dimas Alonzo, said floods and landslides caused by tropical storm Mitch may have cost as many as 5,000 lives in Honduras alone. But he admitted the true total may never be known.

The Honduran president, Carlos Flores Facusse, appealed for international aid and announced that he was suspending constitutional liberties to combat looting.

"There are corpses everywhere," he said in a national broadcast. "The floods and landslides caused from the map many villages and households as

well as whole neighbourhoods of cities... I ask the international community for human solidarity."

The United States government is providing more than \$1 million for aircraft to deliver relief supplies to Central America, US officials said on Monday.

In Nicaragua rescue workers continued to pull bodies from the black volcanic mud at the scene of one of the worst disasters in the country's history. Nicaragua's vice-president, Enrique Bolaños, said 1,000 to 1,500 people had been killed at the Cusaca volcano near Chinandega and 800 others had died elsewhere.

Swollen by torrential rains caused by Mitch, the crater lake at the volcano's summit overflowed, witnesses say, causing a mudslide that wiped out roads in and out of the capital Managua.

With bodies rotting to the open air, and water supplies disrupted, the fear now is of epidemics, including malaria and cholera. The place is a desert now."



Ph-faced... Renato Ruggero under art attack in London

Custard pie on menu for celebrities

John Vidal

A SURREALIST Belgian intellectual's 25-year campaign to throw central clap at pompous celebrities and those with unacceptable power has spread to Brussels with a group calling itself the Biotic Baking Brigade. Margaret Thatcher, Rupert Murdoch, and even the broadcaster Jeremy Paxman are believed to be targets.

Recent recipients of pie thrown by the Brussels-based International Patisserie Brigade and the BSB are Bill Gates of Microsoft, Robert Shapiro, head of Monsanto, and the economist Milton Friedman.

The pie was moved to London

last weekend with the *entertainment* (tipping) of the Italian head of the World Trade Organisation, Renato Ruggero. Several BSB protesters ambushed Mr Ruggero, aged 69, with a complaining about his intention to speed up neo-liberal economies even as millions of people were suffering recession. The protesters launched a volley of pies, and Mr Ruggero was hit several times.

"When they have to more rational arguments, the fringe elements have to use cake," the WTO chief said.

A BSB spokesman said: "To those who wish to dominate the world, the world repiles. Let them eat humble pie. We will wage our

gastronomic struggle with epicurean passion."

The BSB pie-throwing is the latest in a long line of subversive tactics by direct action groups. That it has a philosophical underpinning is thanks to Noel Godin, a Belgian philosopher, who says his slapstick politics is inspired by Norman Wladim and the Three Musketeers.

Mr Godin has been throwing custard pies at celebrities since 1965, when he pelted French novelist Marguerite Duras for having "a kind of intelligence that serves only her own vanity." His latest pelt "Gloopy, gloopy" as they launch their lards. If they fail to strike, they eat the pie — which they insist are top quality.



Brute force that does the market's bidding

THE articles in your October 25 issue on General Augusto Pinochet's arrest in London and on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment are ominously linked. It is illuminating, and sadly ironic, that the right claims that brutal murderers such as Gen Pinochet should, and do, have diplomatic immunity from international prosecution, while trying to simultaneously push through the MAI, which would allow private corporations to prosecute governments. Many of these corporations not only shide by the same free-market philosophies that empower academic regimes such as Gen Pinochet's, but also directly support such regimes (witness Shell's activities in Nigeria).

Free-market policies are killing or injuring thousands of people and are destroying the planet. Right-wingers are understandably nervous about having to account for their deeds in international tribunals. Their record is appalling. Extradition and trial for Gen Pinochet is the only sane and justifiable course, followed by similar actions against other world "leaders" who supported him.

Economic prosperity is a failure, indeed it is barbarism. If it is achieved by the murder, torture, detention or silencing of even one dissenter.

Shawn Smith,
Toronto, Canada

THE detention of Gen Pinochet in London calls for a renewed discussion of the 1973 Chilean coup, its causes and its consequences. Baroness Thatcher's intervention on Gen Pinochet's behalf points a finger at the interests that they both represent. The help given by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger to the Chilean military before, during and after the coup are similarly revealing. And the intervention of Chile's ambassador to Britain — who was one of Gen Pinochet's victims — in calling for the dictator's release, clearly indicates that the current Chilean government is still servant to these same interests.

As a Chilean I am ashamed of these Chileans who have no shame. It looks like it will take some more time before the way is truly open to rebuild democracy in Chile.

Juan H Vera,
Montreal, Canada

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The Guardian Weekly

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The Guardian Weekly Knows no boundaries

BITAIN'S Lord Chief Justice has determined that Gen Pinochet cannot be held and prosecuted because he was once a head of state. If this decision is correct under international law, it is a disaster for the United States, since it would release General Manuel Noriega, who was Panama's head of state when he was kidnapped by US troops and taken to Florida.

Jones and Ellen Leighton,
Prince George, BC, Canada

Middle East's flawed peace

THE Middle East agreement has been hailed as a major breakthrough, but there can be no doubt that it is fraught with danger (Marty's Charter of Mistrust, November 1). Instead of doing away with the Vichy-style government that has been installed in Palestine following the Oslo agreement, it serves to reinforce the status quo.

Neither the extremely well-armed Israeli security forces nor Yasser Arafat have been able to break the spirit of resistance that has been fostered by continued occupation and corrupt "self-rule". Neither does Mr Arafat possess sufficient moral credibility, nor does the agreement include guarantees for a final Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and a commitment to an end to further Israeli settlements.

The most likely scenario is violent clashes between Palestinian factions, which will then allow Israel to argue that a disunited nation cannot be granted independence.

By failing to commit itself to a future withdrawal from occupied territory, the agreement seeks to neutralise rather than annul the occupation. The armed struggle and other forms of defiance will only lose their rationale if Palestinians are given the opportunity to look forward to self-determination.

Adrienne von Brock, Marilyn Mundy,
London School of Economics

AN "INTERIM" Middle East peace deal has given the role of "arbiter" of Palestinians suspected of terrorism to the CIA. To say it is like putting a fox in charge of the henhouse seems inadequate.

The CIA is a centre of human pollution, an invisible government whose power stretches from Wall Street to Timbuktu to Santiago. A proven infiltrator of labour and pro-war movements, it murders, plunders, manipulates and despoils everything it touches. It has democracy and makes war. It is not reformed. If history is a study of human irony, here indeed is a fine example.

John Cassidge,
Melbourne, Australia

Stacking the wrong facts

MILES KIMBER presents an interpretation of the recent Australian federal election that is not consistent with certain relevant facts (October 18).

He claims that John Howard "went to the people with a low profile" and that the odds "are in his favour" at the election with a lower house majority of well over 40 in a 148-seat assembly with Mr Howard having

been able to choose the timing of the poll; and with his having been able to use more than \$28 million of taxpayers' money to promote his proposed tax changes.

Mr Kimmer's claim that Mr Howard "has been re-elected on a number of major tax reform including a goods and services tax" is at variance with well over half of the voters, in terms of their first preferences, having said no to the goods and services tax; with the opposition having polled more than half of the total two-party preferred vote; and with the voters having quite emphatically denied Mr Howard control of the Senate from mid-1995. This is certainly not a decisive mandate for the introduction of a highly contentious and regressive GST.

David S Walsh,
Aberdeen, NSW, Australia

MILES KIMBER is certainly correct when he writes of the need for a reform of Australia's tax laws. But neither he nor John Howard explain why a goods and services tax is essential in such a reform. Dismissing the One Nation party, the other three main opposition parties, together with the churches and the social welfare groups, have been unanimous in their condemnation of the proposed GST, especially applied to food as Mr Howard intends.

I read that the Sydney Olympics committee estimates that a 10 per cent GST will add \$200 million to the cost of the 2000 Games, and has signalled its intention to apply to the government the tax exemption. It is interesting to see if Mr Howard attaches more importance to international athletes than he apparently does to the welfare of the poor.

Elly Saker,
Tasmania, Tasmania, Australia

American agenda

JOHNN RYLE is mistaken in feeling "that Mexicans and Canadians have got used to it" (The trouble with Americans, October 18). Many of us are angry about having the word "American" used to refer only to United States citizens. It's less than correct, and it has a tendency to make us feel ignored and angry, which is unpleasant.

There's an alternative. An appropriate name for citizens of the US is Usians. The precedent has been set with words such as Argentinian and Canadian, where the final "n" of the country's name is replaced by "ian". Or perhaps Usan (as in Ugandan, Indian, etc) would be easier to spell.

David Donohue,
Victoria, BC, Canada

JREAD John Ryle's article with interest as I am an English language teacher at the University of Leon, in Nicaragua. Whenever I teach about nationalities and countries, a debate begins regarding the English translation of United States citizens — Americans. The Nicaraguans feel insulted and rather put out when I explain that there is no good word for US citizens in English.

We need some kind of reform in the use of this politically loaded word, which offends all Americans who do not speak English. I am sure that a new English language, Teacher, Language, is power, and needs to be debated more.

Leon, Nicaragua

Briefly

THOSE who have followed the rhetoric of the West's response to the alleged Serbian atrocities in Kosovo (October 11) will not be surprised that President Slobodan Milosevic and his forces that they they are not going away with "a bit of solution". It is to be hoped that Blair and the new German government led by Gerhard Schröder, whose predecessor proposed Kosovo become an international protectorate, will not only insist on how many refugees being able to return to their homes, but also that Serbia accept international involvement in a solution to the crisis in Kosovo.

Joe Murphy,
Birmingham

IN TRYING to portray Brazil as a paradise for would-be teachers of English, Alex Bellas is disrespectful of Brazilian English teachers and their students (October 11). It is implying that Brazilian EFL teachers are intrinsically less competent than native speakers, he is not only reinforcing a common prejudice but failing to recognise the changing nature of English as a world language. Potential teachers would do well to remember that there's no teaching English than around British or North American models and that there's more to Brazil than São Paulo.

Brenda Laverde and Peter Rukhly,
Kovij, Brazil

JAM disappointed to see that in again the translator's contribution to bringing Jose Saragossa's work into the English language is unacknowledged (October 18).

Michael Schmidt says in your article, "Saragossa is extremely difficult to translate". But someone did translate him, and since he is obviously so readable in English it must have been a job well done.

June-Marie Glasheen,
Society of Authors,
London

JAM just reading Steven Poole's write-up of James Kelman's book *The Good Times* (August 9). I am your reader's name is reported to be fairly intelligent and I count myself among his number, but what, pray, does the following mean? "Meanwhile one militant aim of Kelman's language is probably to deconstruct literary and literary definitions of literary register as being class-based prejudice."

David Marks,
Haiti, Haiti

YOUR obituary of Eric Ambler (October 8) does not mention the extraordinary fact that all of his books are currently out of print.

Pete Ayton,
London

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY
November 8 1998

UN fury as Saddam blocks inspection

Ian Black

IRAQ has defied the United States Security Council by saying it would refuse to co-operate with United Nations weapons inspectors even under the threat of military action.

Baghdad's show of bravado came last week in a speech from Vice-President Taha Hussaini Ramadan who declared: "Iraq does not fear the threat of the United States because it has been threatening Iraq for the past eight years." There will be no co-operation with the inspectors until sanctions are lifted, he said.

President Saddam Hussein's carefully timed decision forced the US president, Bill Clinton, to turn his attention to foreign policy at a time when he would have rather concentrated on this week's mid-term elections.

In an emergency meeting last weekend, the UN Security Council said Iraq's move was "a flagrant violation" of council resolutions.

Meanwhile Mr Clinton warned that no options against Iraq were "off the table". Earlier, he met senior members of his national security team to consider options in the latest showdown. He has already sent his defence secretary, William Cohen, to Europe and the Gulf to

Russia, generally sympathetic to Iraq, warned Baghdad to "weigh carefully" the negative consequences of its actions.

In London, the British prime minister, Tony Blair, who is Mr Clinton's staunchest international backer on this issue, said Iraq could not be allowed to build up weapons of mass destruction in defiance of Security Council resolutions. He issued a stern warning to the Iraqis to back down: "We have absolutely no doubt at all that they must comply and that we are ready to take whatever means are necessary to ensure that they do," he told a news conference, held with the German chancellor, Gerhard Schröder.

Meanwhile Mr Clinton warned that no options against Iraq were "off the table". Earlier, he met senior members of his national security team to consider options in the latest showdown. He has already sent his defence secretary, William Cohen, to Europe and the Gulf to

consult allies. He is expected to order military action if Iraq refuses to comply, but that will not happen quickly.

On Monday Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister and main representative on the international stage, said Baghdad would not reverse its decision to halt co-operation with UN weapons inspectors despite threats of military action by the US, Britain and Germany.

Instead, Iraq's 250 MPs unanimously backed the order to end co-operation with the UN Special Commission (Unscm) until the Security Council reviewed the lifting of sanctions and sacked the Unscm chairman, Richard Butler.

Iraq's move was in response to a council decision last week for a "comprehensive review" of UN Iraq policy that Baghdad had hoped would lead to a partial lifting of the sanctions imposed after its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Unscm has first to certify Iraq

has destroyed its weapons of mass destruction.

Meanwhile a top Iraqi defector has revealed that President Saddam's chemical and biological arsenal is hidden from his senior ministers.

Mr Aziz believes Iraq has dismissed its decision to halt co-operation with UN weapons inspectors despite threats of military action by the US, Britain and Germany.

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Unscm has first to certify Iraq

The Week

CAPTAIN Alexander Niklind, a former Russian naval officer who blew the whistle on the dangers of military nuclear waste in the Arctic, walked away a free man after a jury in St Petersburg branded his treason charges "indictments unclear and sent the case back for "further investigation".

HENRICH Kessler, aged 78, a former East German defence minister, was released from prison after serving four-and-a-half years for shootings at the Berlin Wall. He was the last high-ranking former East German in jail.

RUSSIAN president Boris Yeltsin began a holiday on the Black Sea as a senior aide said the leader would formally review his political activities early next year.

Washington Post, page 17

GORAN Jellacic, Serbia's 30-year-old self-styled "Adolf Hitler", admitted 31 counts of crimes against humanity, including 12 murders, before the International War Crimes Tribunal in the Hague, but denied the most serious charge of genocide.

BROTHER Dominique Savin Kwesero, a Rwandan Catholic monk and an ethnic Hutu, has been sentenced to death after being found guilty of genocide by participating directly in killings of other civilians.

THE city of New Orleans has become the first authority in United States history to take the country's powerful gun manufacturers to court, demanding compensation for the damage their products have caused in the murder-ridden city.

JOHNN GLENN, the world's oldest astronaut, went into orbit as the Discovery space shuttle carrying the 77-year-old senator to his final mission aimed at rejuvenating the American public's faith in space with the space programme.

Washington Post, page 17

CLAUDIO Cortes Garola, a journalist on the Mexican edition of the French newspaper *Le Monde Diplomatique*, was found strangled on the back seat of a car in Mexico City.

SOUTH Africa's former president P W de Klerk has been granted a divorce in Cape Town from his wife Marika after a marriage of 39 years.

ELA SEHOVIC, the Muslim woman stripped of her Miss Croatia title, will go to the Miss World contest this year, after controversy over the jury's withdrawal of her award prompted a compromise. Her replacement will go next year.



Friends attend to an injured girl outside the disco in the Swedish city of Gothenburg where a fire killed at least 60 teenagers and injured more than 160 last week. Swedish officials said that the fire, at a cultural centre for Macedonian immigrants, may have been started deliberately. PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Serbs quit but Nato keeps jets ready

Martin Walker in Brussels

THE threat of air strikes against Serbia diminished last week after Nato agreed that Belgrade was moving towards withdrawing its troops from Kosovo and allowing international monitoring of the ceasefire.

The Nato Council, which comprises the ambassadors of all 16 alliance members, agreed a plan proposed by the British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, "to keep the planes on the runway", despite Russian demands that the activation order be lifted.

The activation order, which authorises the use of force, remains in place. It is not deploying the OSCE on grounds that they were based on a nullified by the lower house of parliament — was rejected.

Comment, page 12

reached with United States envoy, Richard Holbrooke, last month.

The situation remains tense because the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe has barely begun to deploy the 1,500 civilian observers during Serbian offensives in the summer, the operation is seen as essential to prevent a disaster as winter approaches.

The US has asked a private mercenary firm to provide the American military contingent to allow President Clinton to avoid the political risk of having Americans lose their lives in active service in the Balkans.

A French army officer based in Brussels has been arrested for allegedly supplying secret information on planned Nato air raids to the Serbian leadership. French justice officials said Pierre Dimeel, who was seconded to Nato headquarters in Brussels, was in custody in Paris.

When the truth is not enough

TO THE dead, wrote Voltaire, we owe only truth. In cold reason his view can hardly be faulted. But to their family and friends, especially when their loved ones died at another's hand, something more is required if the pain of loss is to be healed. Justice? Compensation? Reconciliation? Whether the issue is the Chile of Augusto Pinochet or the apartheid regime of South Africa, the opportunity to answer the questions posed by political crimes while memories are fresh is a novel phenomenon. In its monumental report after two-and-a-half years' work, Archbishop Desmond Tutu's commission in South Africa has clearly found it easier to deal with the first part of the "truth and what?" question. Even the recounting of truth in a process of acidity. By trying to be comprehensive, the commission has neglected what is easier to do. The African National Congress is particularly aggrieved at being accused of gross human rights violations, but its reaction is unworthy. The commission has made it clear that its struggle against apartheid was justified, including the use of armed force. There is no suggestion of equivalence between the evils of a system that was a crime against humanity and the abuses, however serious and including murder, which ANC members committed. Indeed, the commission's denunciation of apartheid is fuller than expected, far outweighing the space given to ANC wrongs. Virtually every facet of white society under apartheid is fired, from the churches to the media to the medical profession. This is ground-breaking material, which exploits the myth that apartheid was a construct of the Afrikaner National Party that the English-speaking South Africans favoured. Many English speakers, as well as a fair number of Afrikaners, opposed apartheid and were killed or

killed, but the commission is right to point out how every part of the white establishment had a hand in maintaining the system. Even the judiciary is not spared. The occasional cases when judges threw out government cases and acquitted political defendants were rare in comparison with the day-to-day collaboration of lawyers with apartheid. The commission argues that if more judges had taken a stand the government might have had to bypass them and the courts altogether and thereby expose the de-jure legitimacy of the apartheid system.

In terms of justice in the sense of bringing the guilty to court and punishing the excreta has been less effective. Indeed, it has often worked to the contrary to it by allowing villains to ask for amnesty. The very process of rejecting amnesty has allowed the victims of apartheid and the relatives of the murdered to expose guilty men to the glare of publicity. The exposure of truth is also a form of justice in the court of public opinion, even if it does not lead to conviction and sentence.

The commission also breaks new ground by its calls for compensation, particularly from the business community and the wealthy. This would not be as comprehensive as the compensation demanded from the German state that succeeded the Nazis but more on the lines of the awards being made in Australia, Canada and the United States for the suppression of indigenous peoples. But it is right that the beneficiaries of apartheid should pay something back. Much of the tension in the "new" South Africa, including the resentment underlying the failure of most whites to accept any need for redress. It also explains why the ANC feels so off-fence by the commission's decision to ask the liberation movement for yet more Christian contrition while the beneficiaries of apartheid are almost unchanged. The shipwreck — and usually dishonest plea that "We didn't know" does not make known.

Jenkins offers a vote that counts

THE report of the Jenkins Commission on the Voting System was found to be a treasure trove of electoral data and political argument, and it did not disappoint. The familiar alphabet soup of voting reform was all there — from STV to AMS, AV to FPTP — along with the much-loved invocations of the German model, the New Zealand precedent and the Israeli threshold. For those who have seen a lifetime burrowing away in the undergrowth of proportional representation, last week offered a long-dreaded moment in the sun. But for the rest of the nation, too — including those who, as Roy Jenkins admits, have shown "no surging popular agitation for change" — the report is of enormous significance. It lays out a potential solution to a problem that has dogged British democracy from its earliest days. It offers a way for Britain to organize society better and rule themselves more fairly.

In prose that betrays the author's dual life as an historian and biographer, Lord Jenkins has constructed an impressive argument. First, he sets out the well-known drawbacks of the present system, from the disproportionate emphasis it places on 150 or so marginal seats to its knack for ignoring voters who do not back winners, from the frequent creation of "landslide" governments with less than 50 per cent of popular support to its unfair squeeze of third parties. Against that backdrop, and after addressing all the rival options, the five wise heads of the commission propose a mixed system — one that would select constituency MPs through an alternative vote and then top up that number with minor MPs, selected by a formula reflecting the balance of votes cast in a county-sized or city-wide race.

It sounds complicated — and that could be one of the biggest obstacles in its way — but this new method might well fix the key problems of first-past-the-post and may also have the advantage of traditionally put voters off PR. Under the new method every MP will be able to claim the backing of a majority of voters: not all of them will have chosen the winner as a first preference, but they will at least have endorsed the candidate as a second, or occasionally third, choice. That's an improvement on the system of pluralities Britain now has, where an MP can get elected against the explicit wishes of 60 per cent of his or her constituents.

Suddenly there will be no such thing as a wasted

vote even if a voter's first choice was a fringe candidate, his or her other choices may well find their way to Westminster. Labour voters in rural heartlands, or Tory voters in the inner city, will no longer be pushed aside. Politicians will have to take their fate more beyond their traditional base, for voters they once ignored. In a Jenkins world there will be no "deserts" — the Tory-free zone of 1990s Scotland or the Labour-free zone of 1990s English South — because parties will have to fight the significant share of the vote will have a place. The Liberal Democrats will finally have been seen in Westminster that more accurately reflects their popularity in the country.

And yet these improvements will not mean sacrificing all that defenders of the current system cherish. Crucially, MPs will still come from somewhere — they will still represent specific geographic areas — whether the current constituencies or the proposed Top-Up counties. Nor will party houses be banded a new source of patronage. The commission's preference for open, rather than closed, lists for the Top-Up members means voters will not be able to see the apparatus of the right to choose who represents them. Jenkins also makes a good case that conditions — much reviled by the FPTP crowd — are not that much more likely under the new method.

There are honest questions, of course. The complexity of the Alternative Vote system may deter many voters, no matter how much "neutral education" they receive. Any experience of the system in action will only confirm the complaint that the current system is too complex to change. Since the reform of the House of Commons makes sense only a decision is taken about what to do with Britain's second chamber — and the rest of the government machinery. Devolution and the Bill of Rights are changing everything, yet British still lacks a clear sense of how the whole thing fits together. Many progressive folk may feel wary of this incremental, patchwork, terribly British approach — demanding a complete vote on a constitution which could be either endorsed or rejected in a referendum.

PR advocates will oppose that. They prefer to have the opportunity to do something than wait to see everything. They may be right. For the moment, it all depends on the Prime Minister. Will he implement Jenkins? He welcomed the report with more than neutral warmth, though with little explicit action. But probably he delayed into the next parliament. Meanwhile there should be a loud, energetic debate on what is the best way to improve British politics — and its national life.

True democrats know when it's time to go

Peter Preston

IT IS the oldest, deepest cause of wounded pride and personal loss — arising every year, perhaps every month, to bring the night to their knees. But because it is so common, its motivation so banal, the seldom write of it alone as a reason why great men go bump overnight. Let us call it the Liar Syndrome, and let's find a cure.

Did you see the look on Helmut Kohl's face last week as the Bundes tag elected his successor? Set, down, sunk: he even seemed a smaller man as he bowed, passed from him. I watched his departure — by his penance — on television in Kuala Lumpur, where another dominant, but ageing leader was beginning to feel the winds of change. Dismissing round his ankles. The Liar Syndrome never rests. Mahatir Mohd has been prime minister of Malaysia for 17 years now and, though thinner than Helmut, with thicker, darker hair, is actually five years older, ploughing into his mid-70s. He attacks the Western press incessantly, which does not make him best beloved of the Western press.

In good times that may not matter much. Mahatir's Malaysia knows a lot about good times and the soaring growth rates that have built cities of skyscrapers as well as gross per capita income. It has good times for people. The good times do not roll for ever, and that will come — even prime ministers making long speeches — are mortal too. And, of course, there's the distressing matter of his erstwhile deputy and putative successor, Anwar Ibrahim, whose trial on ever escalating list of sex and corruption charges started this week.

I don't propose here to get into any of that murky stuff. The trial will stretch over many months. It's public, with teams of outside observers, and billed as an open test of Malaysian justice. Very well. We saw Anwar's black eye, inflicted in custody now we see what happens next. But it is a symptom, not a cause, of the Liar Syndrome. There have been some noisy rioting, and the streets of Kuala Lumpur were thick with police and gun-toting troops last weekend.

None of these events means that Malaysia is suddenly a society hovering on the brink of chaos. It is not. None of them means that the economic miracle the prime minister built with his "Asian way" is about to come crashing down. It is not. There are tolerable hopes of modest recovery next year. What they do signal, however, in the mind of thoughtful Malaysians, is that a national cycle may be coming to an end. The allegations against Anwar, for instance, aren't new. They have been popping up in police circles for years. But Mahatir doesn't seem to have given them credence. Only last year, resting for two months after a heart bypass, he let Anwar run the country. Who does that remind you of? Not Tony Blair. More the last days of Macmillan complaining that "no body told him anything" about the Profumo debacle. The guilt or innocence of a man is not material. The sense of narrative at the story to its untested development very def-

nely is. It acquires a signal each read. Worse, because there is no obvious successor, it seems to portend more years of things just going on as usual.

Mahatir doesn't seem to even think it sounds a low note when even out, it sounds for him. His energy has been legendary, his drive and determination exemplary. He has been autocratic, to be sure, but a parliamentary hegemony the looks — through the prism of state TV and a superficially flattering press — to be beyond easy challenge. But he inherited a new country where the blood of ethnic violence flowed too readily, and he has bound those wounds in light. History ought to treat him kindly. He had strength when it was needed.

But history is dictated by what happens at the close, and that is the question now. Is today's Malaysia a mature society after a decade and a half of growth, prosperity and education? Is it ready for the next, more open phase of development? Does it want a democracy that offers the prospect of change and a process which can reflect that? Is it a child that has put away childish things?

The Liar Syndrome can be compared to a four-act play. The first act, followed by others, an inevitable avalanche of betrayals, because the first great crime always needs to be covered up with more crimes. Dictators aspire to total power in order to seek refuge from the demons they have unleashed. As a way of silencing their ghosts, they demand to be surrounded by a rampant and obsequious sycophancy and genuflecting courtiers that assure the tyrant that yes, you are the most beautiful of them all. Next, the one who knows more. And you ended up believing them, General.

You defended yourself from what you had done, what you were doing, with the leading words of your supposed invulnerability, the conviction that nobody would ever hold you accountable. That there was one law for you and a different law for your companions. And when Chileans rejected you in a plebiscite in 1988 and forced you to leave the presidency in 1990, you were able, with an uncanny instinct, to trap the whole country in a transition to democracy where you would never have to answer for or even one of your deeds or your words, a transition where you were the only one who was really free to say and do what you wanted whenever you wanted to.

We could, given the terms of the transaction we agreed to enter at the shadow of your gun, express our true emotions, fearful that if you would not let us, your latest move would just put up and kick the table on which the game was being played, threaten the player who had dared to stamp your card. We got our democracy back, General, but you set the limits of how far and deep that democracy could go.

And then you confused your country with the rest of the world. You thought you were a leader, a nation that symbolised civility and civilisation to the rest of the world. You thought that the English would respect the rules and customs of Chile, would be as subservient as Chile.

It is doubly sweet to find that you tried yourself, General, that it was the same arrogance with which you governed that you tried to blind, befuddling your sense of reality, lulling you into the fantasy that you could always impose your will upon everybody else, including

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Repeat now, while you can

Ariel Dorfman, the Chilean writer, makes a personal plea to Pinochet

BELIEVE ME, General: your detention in London is the best thing that could have happened to you. I understand that it can't be pleasant to be arrested without warning, not to be able to smile along the streets of Chilean whenever you feel like it, not to know what future awaits you. Just ask the many Chileans who, when your men came for them in the middle of the night, were not exactly lodged in five-star London hotels.

But if you're scared, and you feel alone, and you think you've been robbed in the back, perhaps you should consider that destiny may have offered you at the very end of your life a providential chance to save your soul. You have, for the last 25 years, been living an illusion, constructing a sham version of yourself, obsessively justifying it.

Falling innocence since the 1973 coup, in fact since the death of Salvador Allende, the president who named you commander-in-chief and whom you betrayed.

The first act of treachery was followed by others, an inevitable avalanche of betrayals, because the first great crime always needs to be covered up with more crimes. Dictators aspire to total power in order to seek refuge from the demons they have unleashed. As a way of silencing their ghosts, they demand to be surrounded by a rampant and obsequious sycophancy and genuflecting courtiers that assure the tyrant that yes, you are the most beautiful of them all. Next, the one who knows more. And you ended up believing them, General.

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yourself as a guarantee that you would never have to look at the messy pain you had caused others. That's why this detention, to matter how temporary, is so healthy for you. Also for a country of course, because it forces all Chileans to look at each other face to face, it tests our democracy, its real strength, its possible precariousness. It finally compels us to confront the need to resolve this complex, ambiguous and eternal transition that you have restricted and cramped with your overwhelming omnipresent shadow.

I want you to know, General, that I don't believe in the death penalty. What I do believe in is human redemption. Even yours, General. Au helvico in God, General, and

therefore might be able to decipher what your wise and compassionate and severe Lord has sent you as your life draws to a close: the chance to repent. To penetrate the fierce circle of your crimes and ask forgiveness and tell us where you died lie buried. Personally, as far as I'm concerned, that would be enough. It would be punishment enough. And think of what a great contribution to the country you say you love you could help our shared motherland take one more step in the arduous, tentative task of reconciliation, which is only possible if the terrible truth of what has been done to us is revealed and acknowledged. If you participate in this healing search for that truth without trying to us yourself.

Remember what history and religion and also literature teach us: the best thing that can happen to a criminal is to be captured, because in his solitary cell, without the habitual defences with which he clings to the past from himself, at times the miracle of a minute window opens inside the prisoner's heart, a window that might lead to self-awareness and redemption.

No, I really don't believe that now that your body has been captured for a brief span, you will use the occasion to find the spiritual path to act like a genuinely free man, someone who can forswear his fear and comprehend the origins of his life, can suddenly see himself as the immense majority of humanity sees him, can understand why we want to exorcise him. Exorcise you and so many other despots in this century if it means courage. It's never too late, General. — *The Observer*

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3906/99

Brazil has to bite the bullet and cut spending

Alex Bellos in Rio de Janeiro

BRASIL'S minister of finance, Pedro Malan, unveiled long-awaited austerity measures last week aimed at reducing the mounting public debt in an attempt to extricate the country from the financial crisis that has engulfed the globe.

In a live television broadcast Mr Malan announced a package that he hopes will save \$24 billion next year and give Brazil a budget surplus in real terms for the first time in recent history.

The move should pave the way for a \$30 billion aid package supplied by the International Monetary Fund, which could help boost both investor confidence and ease pressure off the Brazilian currency, the real.

Mr Malan reinforced the message of President Fernando Collor in his address the night before, that the country's main challenge was to reduce the massive civil service and pension budget.

Mr Malan wants to raise social security payments for civil servants and collect them from pensioners. That is the most controversial part of the package because public workers have an almost sacred status in Brazil and the government could face an uphill task in getting Congress approval.

The cuts and taxes should produce an overall surplus of 2.6 per cent for the public sector. In 1993, the São Paulo stock exchange reacted positively to Mr Malan's statement, but some analysts were less positive.

"The package of measures is not much different than so many others that have failed in the past," said Pedro Malan, a member of the Economics department at the University of São Paulo. "Congress will most likely oppose much of it and do nothing to follow."

Mark Atherton adds: Global financial markets gave a cool response to moves last week by the Group of Seven leading industrial nations to shore up the global financial system and prevent further outbreaks of turmoil.

Despite world leaders publishing a comprehensive programme of reform, stock markets in London and New York rose only modestly, with Wall Street posting a 1 per cent gain and the FTSE closing up 79 points at 5438.4.

The G7 reassured investors that they would continue with expansionary macroeconomic policies to avert the threat of a world recession and announced the establishment of a new, United States-inspired emergency facility at the IMF from which countries can borrow at commercial rates to prevent them falling victim to financial contagion.

US Treasury sources indicated that G7 support for countries in difficulty would in future be contingent on banks and other lenders bearing part of the burden by, for instance, agreeing to debt restructurings.

At the heart of the new approach is a commitment to adopt transparent policies so that difficulties can be spotted before they escalate into a crisis, including compliance with new codes of conduct on fiscal policy and monetary and financial policy.

In Brief

BRITISH Airways moved to protect its booming profits on the transatlantic route by putting its strategic alliance with American Airlines on the back burner. BA will instead expand its "one world" deal with American, Cathay Pacific, Canadian Airlines and Qantas over the next five years in the hope that regulatory issues are settled in the meantime.

THE chief executive of the Bank Group resigned as the UK leisure conglomerate said profits had collapsed over the past three months. Andrew Teare led Bank for two and a half years, during which time the share price fell by 50 per cent. Despite this, he is now in line for a pay-off of about \$1.6 million.

DEUTSCHE Bank, Germany's largest bank, announced a loss of \$136 million and said it had suffered a 95 per cent collapse in its operating profit, to \$42 million, in the last quarter. Deutsche is thought to be one of the banks with greatest exposure in Russia.

THE British government signalled its withdrawal of support for the controversial Multilateral Agreement on Investment. Although the OECD denies that the MAI is dead, a growing number of its members are calling for the draft to be referred to the World Trade Organization. Meanwhile WTO head Renato Ruggiero has called for a new global body to negotiate environmental protection rules.

JAIL sentences could be imposed on English accountants and lawyers who help foreign clients avoid tax in their home countries, following the disclosure of a Treasury consultant. This means that institutions taking money from clients in the former Soviet Union, where tax compliance is now as 25 per cent, may have to turn back business away.

MORE than 600 jobs have gone at the London International Financial Futures and Options Exchange as a result of strong Frankfurt competition.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES	
	Starting rates November 5 1993
Australia	2.0700-2.0700
Canada	10.36-10.37
Denmark	56.74-56.80
France	166.34-166.35
Germany	10.40-10.41
Italy	1,110-1,111
Japan	1,110-1,111
Netherlands	2,070-2,071
New Zealand	1.317-1.318
Norway	12.20-12.21
Portugal	202.00-202.01
Spain	166.34-166.35
Sweden	12.20-12.21
Switzerland	2.070-2.071
UK	1.400-1.401

FTSE 100: 5438.4 at 4.07 PM. DAX: 3019.1 at 4.07 PM. Nikkei: 10,100.0 at 4.07 PM. S&P 500: 4,000.0 at 4.07 PM.

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Boeing battles to stay airborne

Production problems, the East Asian crisis are all putting pressure on the world's top plane-maker, writes Chris Barrie

IN SEATTLE'S Museum of Flight last week, executives from two of the world's most powerful companies gathered for a celebratory dinner. Sitting beneath aircraft suspended from the high ceiling, British Airways and Boeing managers raised their glasses to one of those milestones the airline business so relishes.

Bob Dick, one of BA's most senior engineers, taking delivery of the airline's 50th 747-400 jumbo jet, toasted Boeing's success in producing, and promised to keep buying Boeing's vice-president of 747 and 787 programmes, Ed Renaud, praised BA and promised to be its "favourite supplier of aircraft". Engine-maker Rolls-Royce, supplier to both companies, praised them both. It appeared as harmonious as any transatlantic relationship.

But, as the fleet mignon and elegant savoury slipped down 100 throats, the speeches did no more than hint obliquely at the Herculean struggle of the world's leading aircraft manufacturer to take its 238,000 employees into the next century. For Boeing is facing a high-octane challenge from its much younger rival, Airbus Industrie — a deep of European manufacturers including British Aerospace. The challenger is threatening to steal Boeing's crown by claiming a greater share of new orders and, further ahead, of the overall market.

Airbus recently won a deal worth potentially \$8 billion from BA for up to 180 short-haul jets. Although BA ordered a clutch of long-haul Boeing 777s, the United States firm was bitterly disappointed at the infidelity of a mainstay client.

Boeing has been rocked by its inability to manage its own production processes. Blinded by the need to win orders against Airbus, it committed itself to making huge numbers of aircraft, then found it could not deliver orders on time.

Despite buoyant demand, Boeing's profit margins plunged as it paid through the nose for overtime, with dozens of parts and compensation to airlines. Last year the group made a loss of \$178 million.



Delayed flight... Production problems have hit delivery dates for the 747

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE HALL

its first for 50 years. Its third-quarter results, although in profit by \$347 million, revealed margins for next year were likely to be a meagre 3-4 per cent.

A leaked memo to a Seattle-based newspaper reveals that United Parcel Service and United Airlines rejected Boeing as a "dysfunctional organisation".

As if symbolic of the problems, the handover of BA's jumbo jet was delayed last weekend. Boeing began its turnaround by seeking Ron Woodward, head of the civil aircraft business. Some Wall Street analysts suggested chairman and chief executive officer Phil Condit should have gone too. But Boeing executives admit no sacking will have any effect without a wide-ranging change of culture and emphasis.

There is not much time. Mr Woodward's replacement, Alan Mulally, senior vice-president of the commercial airplane group, says the "Turkish Airlines crisis makes him 'very concerned'". Dan Olsson, regional director, product marketing for Asia-Pacific, warns that the cycle of airline orders may be about to turn down.

From Interstate Highway 5, which overlooks part of one Boeing complex, aircraft bearing the livery of Turkish Airlines can be seen on the apron. Seattle gossip has it that the carrier is in no hurry to take delivery of, and pay for, them. There are similar stories about aircraft bound for Korea.

Mr Mulally admits that Boeing

has not yet beaten its production problems, although it produced 31 planes in October. The company is now delivering on time — a record BA's 747-400 is already one month late — but many of the assembly tasks are being done out of sequence, an inefficient and costly process. "It will take us another year to get it back," he says. "We let ourselves down, and the customers."

He is drawing up a new business plan with three priorities: first to stabilise the production process; second, to draw up a product development plan for investment of scarce dollars; and third, to raise customer services.

HE ALSO wants to strike a new relationship with the airlines, and is using more computerised design to improve accuracy and cut lead time. Mr Mulally admits that changing the culture of such a huge company could be difficult. Whether he manages to do it in time will depend not just on his own colleagues, but also on two other notoriously difficult sets of people.

The shareholders will have to give him a chance to reorganise and raise profit margins. The early signs are good. And the customers will have to forgive Boeing's past transgressions and talk about mutual help in dealing with the vicious negotiating that makes up the airline ordering business. On this, the jury is still out.

Meanwhile BA is still awaiting delivery of its 50th 747.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Le Monde

Fischer spells out Germany's intentions

Arnold Leppermeyer in Bonn

JOSCHKA Fischer, a leading Green and, since October 27, Germany's new foreign minister, believes "there is no such thing as a Green foreign policy, only a German one".

The distinguishing mark of that policy will be "continuity", he added. "We had not yet officially taken office when we had to deal with the very serious problem of the threat of military action in Yugoslavia. We managed to resolve it. The country's visit to Washington suddenly turned into something very serious. I don't feel that the fact that I'm a Green was either a handicap or an advantage. Gerhard Schröder [the new chancellor] and I negotiated in the interests of our country."

The arrest of Augusto Pinochet is an extremely important signal. Whatever the courts finally decide, it has shown that in tomorrow's world dictators and political criminals, whatever their rank, will not feel safe from the arm of the law or the rule of law. Germany should be a country where human rights are defended. Persecuted democrats and dissidents are welcome in Germany."

Fischer, aged 59, is a Francophile who intends to inject new life into Franco-German relations, which have deteriorated during the first years of Helmut Kohl's chancellorship.

But he sees no point in signing a new Franco-German treaty. "That has no value in itself. We should get down to essentials and take a new qualitative step in the process of European unification. Relations between states are not to my mind the main issue. The problem lies in the relationship between different societies, intellectual milieu, political ideas and public opinions."

Even though bilateral relations are extremely important, we'll not make any genuine progress until we have a domestic European policy. Indeed, there cannot be any real European foreign policy unless we have a domestic European policy. "European policy is in the hands of experts, lobbyists and a handful of MEPs. But our various societies are very interested in Europe. Which they simply accept as a fact of life. There's no European-wide debate about our different experience."

Fischer believes that Germany is not going to try to seize the leadership in Europe. "We're in a central



Fischer, Germany's new foreign minister, arrives for talks on forming a government in Bonn last month

dietary situation: on the one hand, Germany says it wants to assume a certain role because of its size and power, and on the other, it is not being part of NATO's military structure, in connection with, say, a possible military intervention in the Balkans or in the domestic French political process."

Fischer is not worried about trade friction between France and Germany. Asked whether he thought Germany's decision to halt the reprocessing of its nuclear fuel might have an adverse effect on Cogen's reprocessing plant at La Hague in Normandy, he said: "There's a very high volume of trade between our two countries, and Cogen accounts for only a tiny part of it. It was a decision that had the support of a majority of the German population, who want to abandon nuclear energy. I think that France, which believes in democratic principles, will accept that fact and draw the necessary conclusions."

Fischer seems delighted with last summer's decision by the Frankfurt stock exchange to "betray" Paris by entering into an alliance with its London counterpart. "As a member of parliament for Frankfurt, I can only give my energetic support."

(October 28)

Chirac breaks tradition of Pétain tribute

Oliver Bilfrud

IN 1968, to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the armistice of November 11, 1918, President Charles de Gaulle laid flowers on Marshal Pétain's grave to the Vichy regime.

Ten years later, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing did the same. In 1988 President François Mitterrand followed suit. This year, however, President Jacques Chirac has decided to break with tradition. He will be the first president of the Fifth Republic not to pay tribute on November 11 to the victor of Verdun, who 22 years later became the architect of the Vichy regime that collaborated with the Nazis.

That contradiction in Pétain's record did not deter Mitterrand. On September 22, 1984, the president placed a bunch of red roses on the grave of the man who was struck off the rolls of the French Academy in 1945.

Mitterrand repeated his tribute on June 16, 1988, as well as on November 11 every subsequent year until 1992, which happened to be the 50th anniversary of the round-up, in the Vel d'Hiv stadium in Paris, of some 12,000 Jews who were later sent to concentration camps. In the face of angry opposition, Mitterrand decided that the contradiction between the "glory" of Verdun and the "disgrace" of 1942 should be "handled deftly".

When asked at the time whether he thought placing flowers on Pétain's grave was one of the duties required of a president, Chirac said: "Frankly, I don't think so." Lionel Jospin, for his part, said that he thought the "Pétain of 1914-18" had been "erased" by the Pétain of Vichy.

The fact that France's president and prime minister see eye to eye on the issue means that it is not something likely to jeopardise their power-sharing arrangement. But 1998 is one of those special 10-yearly commemorations.

De Gaulle was the first president who wished to pay tribute to the eight marshals who descended to attend the heights of

memory glory". The trouble was that Pétain was one of them.

How were the authorities to cope with the problem of November 11, 1998? The advisers of Jean-Pierre Masseret, the minister for ex-servicemen, managed to come up with a plan. The president and prime minister will celebrate only those three men who "deserved well of their country". In the words of two laws of 1918 and 1920, Pétain was not one of them.

So, on November 9, Masseret will pay tribute to President Raymond Poincaré. On November 10, the defence minister, Alain Richard, will do the same for Marshal Ferdinand Foch. And on November 11, Chirac will honour Georges Clemenceau.

(October 28)

Ecuador and Peru sign peace deal

Nicole Bonnet in Lima

ON OCTOBER 26, in the Brazilian capital, Brasília, the Ecuadorian president, Jamil Mahuad, fought back tears as he declared: "After so many decades during which both sides tried to win the war, today our two countries [Peru and Ecuador] will together win the peace." His audience included Latin American leaders, the king and queen of Spain, and co-presidents of the United States president and the Pope.

His Peruvian counterpart, President Alberto Fujimori, said: "Today we have proclaimed our right to live in peace."

The signing of this definitive peace accord has ended the turmoil in Latin America's longest territorial dispute. The document also defines the terms of various bilateral trading and shipping agreements, and provides for the setting up of a commission charged with solving any subsequent border problems peacefully.

The accord is the culmination of what has been three years of hard bargaining, which began after bloody clashes had pitted the two countries against each other in the mountain range in 1985. It was made possible by pressure from peacebrokers — Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the US — and confirmed the border established under the Rio Protocol of 1942.

The agreement puts an end to Ecuador's claim to sovereignty over 200,000 km of Peruvian Amazonia. However, it does grant Ecuador an enclave of 12 km at Tiviana, at the extremity of the Condor mountain range where its troops won a fleeting victory over Peru in 1985.

The provisions laid down by the brokers of the accord include the setting up of two adjoining ecological parks in the disputed area.

Two other treaties, signed that same day in Brasília, grant Ecuador "functional sovereignty" over Amazonia. Ecuadorians will be entitled to travel on the Amazon river and its tributaries. They will also be allowed to use two 150-hectare harbour installations, complete with warehouses, and roads leading into Peruvian territory.

The Ecuadorians will now have to erase from their memory three centuries of official history, drummed into them in the classroom and endlessly repeated by populist demagogues, according to which Pétain is an Amazonian country and Peru an invader that has already stolen more than half its territory.

The fact remains that this dispute sparked three wars and caused hundreds of deaths. The accord should enable the two countries, among the poorest in South America, to save billions of thousands of dollars that would otherwise have been spent on defence.

It should also open the way to \$8 billion worth of investment in the Amazon. Alberto Richard, the Peruvian Development Bank announced it was going to lead the two countries \$800 million to help finance transborder schemes.

(October 28)



Elisabeth Olsson with one of her photographs exhibited in Uppsala Cathedral

PHOTO: INVAR SVENSSON

Swedish storm over 'gay Christ' photos

Antoine Jacob in Stockholm

BECAUSE she felt there was a "need" for such photographs, Elisabeth Olsson eventually decided to take them herself — a series of 12 pictures designed to prove that "God is everyone's God". She says that on several occasions Sweden's Lutheran church had made it clear to her that it regarded homosexuality as "an ailment" and AIDS as "divine punishment". As a reaction against these "prejudices", and with the aim of prompting discussion of the issue, the 38-year-old Olsson, herself a lesbian, decided to portray Jesus as a homosexual, or, in the company of homosexuals. Her 12 photographs illustrate various moments in his life.

The original Gabriel hands a glass tube containing sperm to Mary, thus suggesting that she underwent artificial insemination. Conceived in that way, the newborn Jesus is brought up by two homosexual couples, who, like Joseph and Mary in Bethlehem, have had to go into hiding.

At public bathing establishments, a full-frontal Jesus is

shown being christened by a man who hugs him. At the Last Supper, Jesus is surrounded by transvestites, towards whom "he shows solidarity by wearing high-heeled shoes". Stillheads are high on the agenda at the foot of the Cross. A plea depicts an HIV-positive Jesus in hospital hooked up to a drip.

Olsson's color photographs, accompanied by extracts from the New Testament, were first shown at Stockholm's Europride gay festival in July. Despite the controversy they sparked, Olsson was invited by a clergywoman to show her work at Uppsala Cathedral, seat of the archbishop of the Lutheran Church, Sweden's state religion.

More than 10,000 people crowded into the cathedral that day to see Olsson project her slides and hear her explain the meaning of her work. Bomb scares failed to disrupt this "meditation", which had been organized against the wishes of the local bishop.

The photographs have been on show in Jönköping's cultural center since October 10, Jönköping is the headquarters of the Swedish Pentecostals and

other "free" churches, which are hostile to the understanding attitude to homosexuality shown by the Archbishop of Sweden, Karl Gustav Hammar.

Police are guarding the cultural centre following anonymous threats against the exhibition. Many believers, both Protestant and Catholic, have criticized Olsson's portrayal of Jesus. The issue has become so heated that it has jeopardized the ecumenical dialogue organized within the framework of the Christian Council under the auspices of Archbishop Hammar.

Catholic leaders have called for the archbishop to step down from the presidency of that body on the grounds that he has not distanced himself from the exhibition. And they have succeeded in getting his scheduled audience with Pope John Paul II postponed indefinitely.

Olsson, who describes herself as a "believer", says the photographs "are a gift to the Church, a challenge to the debate on homosexuality". The exhibition has already been invited to the United States, Britain, Italy and Switzerland. (October 21)

Painter of paradox

Harry Bellet

GUSTAVE MOREAU was not just a painter of convoluted pictures with titles such as *Oedipus et Le Sphinx*, *Prométhée et Salmé*, but a teacher, at the Beaux-Arts, of such artists as Henri Matisse, Georges Rouault and Albert Marquet.

In other words, Moreau was a paradox. His teaching role made him the tutor, if not the father, of the Fauves, while his own painting struck almost all his successors as old-fashioned and overelaborate. The Surrealists, who adored his work, were an exception — André Breton dreamed of breaking into and visiting Moreau's studio in Rue de la Rochefoucauld at night.

Moreau's contemporaries were divided in their feelings about him. He was often slated by the critics. The bourgeoisie liked his "well-finished" paintings. Prominent mystics such as Joseph Pélissier hoped Moreau would join their ranks. But he detested, preferring to put his gods in his paintings, even if that meant leaving himself open to scathing remarks by Edgar Degas, who compared him to a jeweller and said: "He put switch chains on the gods of Olympus."

It was a damning judgment, but a rather accurate description of a style for which the words "baroque" or "Symbolist" are inadequate. Fans of Moreau argue that in some of his sketches he is a precursor of abstraction. This particularly famous idea — that he did not describe him as a precursor of "environment" or "installations" — arises from a desire to recognize Moreau's modernity.

He could be modern or *fin-de-siècle*, depending on the work. The large water-color that closes the exhibition currently being held at the Galerie Nationale du Grand Palais in Paris — a vigorous nude with folded arms — is indisputably modern.

But Moreau could also be decadent with a vengeance. His monstrous Jupiter et Sémélé is quite overpowering. The mural *Sémélé* did not survive the spectacle of her lover Jupiter in all his divine splendor; exhibition visitors could be at risk, too, if they linger too long in front of the painting.

Alternatively, they may feel a greater affinity with *Prométhée*, who keeps such a stiff upper lip while being tortured, that one of the vultures has already given up pecking at his liver and is being gored at questioningly by the second vulture.

The organizers of the retrospective, Geneviève Lacourrière of the Musée d'Orsay, Douglas Drick and Larry Feinberg of the Art Institute of Chicago, and Susan Stein of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (the show will later move to two museums in the United States) were keen to show only what they regard as Moreau's masterpieces, in other words nearly 150 works.

His hanging of the works in chronological order, is articulated around three paintings they regard as important: *Oedipus et Le Sphinx*, which caused a sensation when it was shown at the 1864 Salon, *Hercule et L'Hérode de Lemn*, which triumphed at the 1876 Salon, and the preposterous *Jupiter et Sémélé*.

The three works, which mark the periods in Moreau's life, are accompanied by sketches, drawings and variations. They give us a good idea of the artist's working methods. Moreau was undoubtedly painstaking in his work.

The same could be said of the exhibition's organizers. They knew almost everything there is to know about Moreau, from his birth in 1826 to his death in 1898. The chronology of the exhibition catalogue omits no detail, and readers will not be disappointed to learn, for example, that on January 11, 1882, Moreau received a "payment of 2,000 francs for a New Year gift for Madame Melé Eprussi."

Roger d'Arquie (B 185/6 335) with a frame made by Sony, a New Year gift for Madame Melé Eprussi... But the catalogue fails to mention the far more interesting fact that 2,000 francs was slightly more than a worker's average annual wage at that time. That is what art history has come to in France today: an accumulation of trivial facts that must in no account mean anything — in other words, a bit like Moreau's work at its worst.

Gustave Moreau, *Galerie Nationale du Grand Palais, Paris*. Closed Tuesday, until January 4 (October 24)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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The Washington Post

Impeachment Is Not the Real Issue

COMMENT

David Broder

THE temptation to interpret the midterm election as a referendum on the possible impeachment of President Clinton is powerful — and misguided. Everything I have heard in the last six weeks of traveling the campaign trail tells me that if you want to know what the public is saying this year, look at the voting for governor.

It is inevitable that the November 3 results will be read as the first vote on Clinton's future. He made that clear by waiting until 10 weeks before Election Day to start correcting the falsehoods he uttered in January and for months thereafter. The House Republicans made it a certainty by voting last month to begin impeachment hearings right after the November ballots have been counted.

It will fall to the people, elected to the House to decide whether Clinton has committed any impeachable offenses. The election will also pick one-half of the jurors who will sit on the Clinton case, if the House sends it over to the Senate for trial.

But there are few of the 435 House districts where the candidates are saying, "Vote for me to send a message to you to do it or I will want Clinton impeached." Most of those who have taken a clear stand on impeachment, for or against, are in safe seats, where they risk nothing by declaring themselves.

But that does not stop people from stamping this as an impeachment referendum — even though they have a hard time agreeing what the yardstick should be. Midterm elections have become increasingly murky political battles. In the last 10, going back to the 1958, four have been landmines —

for the Democrats in 1938 and 1974, for the Republicans in 1966 and 1994. All but the last of these followed presidential year landmines for the opposite party and represented a balancing of the political scales.

The other six midterms — those of 1962, 1970, 1978, 1982, 1986 and 1990 — produced an average loss for the president's party of 12 seats, just about the number many are projecting the Democrats may lose this year. So what would this tell us about "the Clinton factor" in the election? If the Republicans were to go well above that figure, the base from which to draw impeachment votes obviously would be significantly enlarged. If the Democrats were to defy the historical odds and gain seats, it would bolster the president's defense.

But either of these fairly dramatic results would have little impact on the ultimate disposition of Clinton's case than the quality of the evidence amassed for or against him. Before the House can impeach, a much larger share of the public must be convinced he has seriously violated his oath of office — and that will depend on the case that is presented.

Meanwhile, what the voters really want — and are determined to get in the 36 gubernatorial elections — is a "stable, centrist government, whether it comes from Republicans, Democrats or — as in Maine — an independent. Angus King, who won the governor's office in Augusta in 1994, has the support of either party, will probably trounce the major party nominees even more decisively this year, because Maine voters think he has struck a reasonable balance between environmental needs and economic development and has been prudent in spending their tax dollars.

Ron Brownstein of the Los Angeles Times has noted that cent-



Big deal... Paula Jones accepts a \$1 million cheque from businessman Abe Hirschfeld last Saturday, which she can cash if she drops her sexual harassment case against President Clinton

ism is guiding Gary Davis toward becoming the first Democratic governor of California in 16 years.

The willingness to use government where necessary, especially for education and law enforcement, to reform systems that are not working, especially welfare, and to restrain taxes or reduce them when possible, is why gubernatorial incumbents of both parties are generally sailing to reelection from Alaska to New York.

The few who are not governors who have managed to enmesh themselves in ideological fights or squabbles that seemed irrelevant to their constituents. It is clear that voters don't want to see the partisanship too often displayed in Washington, D.C. if the governments close at hand.

If we miss that fact in searching for an impeachment mandate, we mistake the real meaning of this election.

Tobacco Firms Spent \$43m to Kill Legislation

Sandra Torry

THE TOBACCO industry spent more than \$43 million on lobbying in the first half of this year — 21 percent more than in all of 1997.

Much of it to kill a national tobacco tax championed by public health groups and the White House, according to a report released last week by Public Citizen, which fought the bill.

According to Public Citizen, the industry "besieged the Capitol with 192 lobbyists," about "one for every three members of Congress." The team drew on "powerful insiders," including former Senate majority leaders George J. Mitchell, D-Maine, and Howard Baker, R-Tennessee.

Public Citizen said it culled its information from public lobbying reports filed with Congress by six major tobacco companies, three tobacco trade groups and outside lobbying firms they employed. According to the group's report, Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp., which spent \$1.7 million in the first half of 1997, spent \$18.2 million in the same period this year, topping the other major tobacco companies, including Philip Morris Companies Inc. and RJ. Reynolds Tobacco Co.

That behind-the-scenes campaign came as the industry mounted a

\$40-million national advertising blitz to defeat the tobacco bill, which would have imposed major restrictions on the industry, as well as an \$1.10 per pack price hike over five years.

The industry, which initially chafed at the demand for a quick turn against it in April, after a Senate committee fashioned a bill with the huge price hike and almost none of the legal protections the industry sought.

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Burned Wires Found in Swissair Jet's Game System

Don Phillips

INVESTIGATORS discovered evidence of fire and electrical damage in the wiring of Swissair Flight 111's in-flight entertainment and gambling system, prompting the airline last week to disconnect it on its other planes.

Sources close to the probe of the September 2 crash said that the insulation was burned off of three of the four sets of wires coming from the sophisticated system, located above and behind the cockpit, and there was clear evidence of electrical arcing, or sparks. A preliminary investigation has raised concerns about the amount of heat that the cutting-edge electronics produce, as well as the manner in which it was connected to the aircraft's main electrical power, 16 minutes after the crash.

Swissair and the Transportation Safety Board of Canada

said in brief statements that there is insufficient evidence so far to determine whether the wiring played a role in the New York-Geneva flight's plunge into the Atlantic Ocean, killing all 229 onboard. The Canadian board said it is possible the damage was "merely the by-product of other events."

Although the Canadian safety board said this particular system was "unique to the Swissair fleet," sources said investigators and regulators want to take a new look at onboard video and gaming systems that some airlines are installing on long-distance jets to two customers.

The burned wiring was found on a Swissair jet that crashed from the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, just off Peggy's Cove, Nova Scotia. The McDonnell Douglas MD-11 slammed into the ocean about 16 minutes after the crash, reported smoke in the cockpit and domed oxygen masks.

Primakov Unveils His Rescue Plan

Daniel Williams in Moscow

RUSSIAN government approved an economic plan last weekend centered on tax cuts, bank rescues, intensified state intervention in the battered economy and printing more rubles. Prime Minister Yegor Gerasimov expressed hope that in response, foreign lenders will provide credits. But if they don't, he said, Russia "will not go down on its knees."

The plan's unveiling ended weeks of confused messages from the government, which has signaled an end to the free market approach of previous Cabinets while pledging not to return to a centrally controlled economy. Primakov, with characteristic caution, said his plan could be modified as early as this week.

It is unclear how long an ailing Russia can await clear direction. Fear of winter food shortages has prompted Primakov to organize emergency food reserves and to place tariffs on food imports. In the meantime, the ruble and progress on paying foreign and domestic debt, an employment rise steadily while the purchasing power of the ruble declined by two-thirds. The government declined precipitously in the week between the ousting of Yel'tsin to Sergei Kiriyenko's government and the collapse of the Yel'tsin administration's economic strategy.

Russia's relations with global economic heavyweights are also frayed. In Moscow last week in Moscow, International Monetary Fund representatives rebuffed the new proposals and declined to release billions of dollars in loans to help prop up the economy.

Russia also is at odds with private foreign lenders and lacked in rancorous negotiations with foreign banks over repayment of debts. The banks have threatened to go to court in their home countries to demand the seizure of Russian bank assets abroad if no deal can be worked out.

The timing of last weekend's announcement underscored the central role Primakov, a former foreign minister and KGB official, has played in deciding Russia's fate. An interim President Boris Yel'tsin left last week for a vacation on the Black Sea coast. Yel'tsin's government was variously described as a cold, brittle, exhaustion and high blood pressure. Yel'tsin has made virtually no contribution to the economy or anything else since Primakov was appointed in September.

Thomas W. Lippman adds: Chastened by economic turmoil and political defeat in Russia, the Clinton administration has refrained from six years of undivided support for free-market reforms and their sponsors in favor of a flexible policy that assigns responsibility for any misfires to Russia's responsibility for its own fate.

The administration has refrained from proposing an economic plan of its own, while warning the Clinton, publicly and privately, that a return to government control of the economy, currency revaluations, limits on foreign investment and subsidies of obsolete industries would bring disaster.

An outlook that is positively quirky

Philippa Degen

LORENZO LOTTO's last work, *The Presentation In The Temple*, painted between 1552 and 1556 for the monastery of the Santa Casa in Loreto, seems unfinished. It is difficult to interpret the movements of the people in the painting; and their expressions are blank.

Its composition, on the other hand, is straightforward and geometric. In the centre is an altar consisting of a table covered with a white sheet. The human figures are divided into three groups. On the left, a man in a red robe, a woman in a blue robe and a child in a red robe, all looking towards the altar.

The picture could almost have been painted by René Magritte. The question is why did Lotto give the table human legs? The catalogue mentions the oddity and refers to

the painter's "faceless sense of humour". Are we then to believe that when he was well over 70, not long before his death in 1566, Lotto, whose piety is amply attested, decided to add a humorous detail to a religious painting that was destined for the Santa Casa monastery, of which he became a lay brother in 1564? The argument is unconvincing.

A much more believable explanation is that that the transposition of the table legs is an allusion, a symbol or code. But what the allusion, symbol or code is has remained a mystery. All we know is that Lotto was not afraid of implausibility.

Indeed, he was so unafraid of it that few of his paintings do not contain similar details. Early on in his career, in 1505, after he had settled in Treviso, he painted an *Allegory of Virtue and Vice*.

Reams have been written about this small painting because it con-

tains all sorts of odd features. There is a crystal ball bearing an effigy of Medusa suspended by a red ribbon. A naked child is playing with a set square, a compass, a protractor and a plumb line. A snail is looking inside a golden vase.

In one corner of the picture a ship is sinking. In another, Lotto has painted something that looks like a sunlit mountain. These are no doubt allusions to hermetic systems that may well never be elucidated.

Quirky elements crop up in every genre Lotto worked in. It would have been nice if he had conceived his paintings in a more direct way based on observation of the model and analysis of his or her character.

This is the case with some of his portraits, where he betrays his admiration for northern painters, and no one more so than Albrecht Dürer. Here he places his models in a not very deep space and studies them in minute detail, as though

examining an inanimate object and trying to hand it imitating its volumes and colours objectively. But other portraits are more complex. In his double portrait of a man and wife, lent by the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg to the Lotto exhibition now on at the Grand Palais in Paris, he also depicts a poodle, a squirrel and a storm. The woman looks stupid and nasty. The man damaged.

Why? Some authorities argue that the squirrel symbolises lust, others prudence, others again indifference because it is asleep.

As the years go by, increasing incongruity creeps in. It may be zoogeographical, but more often it is stylistic. Lotto's church paintings show discrepancies and unreason of treatment. Compositions are increasingly cluttered with human figures, postures are affected, yet faces remain expressionless or conventional, and eyes are raised to the heavens.

In Lotto's lifetime, such qualities earned him little praise and caused

him to spend much of his life travelling around in search of sponsors and protectors. That explains his problems at the time explain his success today: his quickness and his blatant contempt for realism are now regarded as positive qualities.

But some regard him as a cursed artist rescued from the jaws of oblivion. That is probably why his paintings at the Grand Palais have been hung in a display of such material. All that is missing is the organ Muzak.

Lorenzo Lotto, *Grand Palais, Paris*. Closed Tuesday, until January 11, 1999 (October 20)

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The 11th of 116

Crackdown Raises Human Rights Fears

Lee Hockstad in Gaza City

SINCE Israel and the Palestinians signed an interim peace accord in Washington last month, Palestinian police have detained journalists, imprisoned an Islamic cleric who dared criticize the accord and launched a wave of arrests of suspected Islamic activists. Under the terms of the land-for-security agreement, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat pledged to crack down on both terrorist groups operating from areas controlled by the Palestinians, and on anti-Israeli incitement on their airwaves. Those moves were demanded by the Israelis, backed by President Clinton and, finally, accepted by Arafat.

In practice, though, it's not so simple — and could make a bad human rights record in Palestinian-controlled areas much worse, say human rights groups here and in the West. They argue the accord, coupled with pressure from Washington and Israel, could promote a Palestinian police state in Israel's back yard.

"What's happened in the last five years under the slogan of peace? The first victim was human rights," said Rafi Sourani, head of the Palestinian Center for Human Rights in Gaza. "Security for us has meant waves of arrests, state security courts, restrictions on free speech and a lack of respect for the law."

The implications of a Palestinian crackdown on terror and incitement may give rise to more ticklish questions for the United States than the text of the peace accord suggests.

In encouraging the Palestinians to wage war on terror, should the Clinton administration support the swift but often hasty justice of Palestinian state security courts, which specialize in summary trials, often starting after midnight with no right to counsel? Should it speak out against Palestinian detention of terror suspects who are imprisoned for months or years without charges or trial? Should it raise the issue of torture in Palestinian prisons, where 20 detainees have died in recent years?

The dilemma for Washington is even more problematic now that the United States has established itself, under the terms of the new accord, as a kind of superreferee to enforce what Israel expects of the Palestinians and vice versa.

"The Palestinian Authority's human rights record is already deplorable," said Hanny Megally, Middle East division director for Human

Rights Watch in Washington. "The U.S. doesn't condemn these violations now. Will the U.S. condemn violations once it is part of the process that creates them?" Sourani, the Palestinian human rights activist, said dozens of Palestinians are currently held under administrative detention, facing neither charges nor trials for months and years at a time.

Many, perhaps most, of the detainees are Islamic fundamentalists, who in addition to forming the core of groups that carry out terror attacks against Israel also constitute Arafat's most serious political opposition. Many of those languishing in Palestinian prisons may well be terrorists. Others seem to be murder cases, whose arrests resemble a crackdown on Arafat's political opposition more than on extremist violence.

To human rights groups, some of the Palestinian arrests seem arbitrary and counterproductive.

"If you arrest someone and jail him for years without trial and charges, do you think this is a good way to fight terror?" said Bassem Eid, director of the Jerusalem-based Palestinian Human Rights Monitoring Group. "It's the opposite. The more Hamas is harassed, the more they will seek revenge against Israel because they think Israeli pressure is trying to open an internal conflict in Palestinian society."

None of this troubles Israel much. The late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, who was assassinated by a right-wing Israeli Jew in 1995, argued that Palestinians were well suited to wage war on terrorists because, unlike Israel, they were not burdened by independent judges and quarrelsome human rights activists.

Similarly, the current prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, appears unworried about what Palestinians do to each other; what concerns him is the violence some of them carry out against Israelis.

Nor has the United States turned a spotlight on Palestinian human rights abuses. Shortly after the state security courts were initiated in 1996, they were hailed by Vice President Gore, who was visiting the newly autonomous Palestinian-controlled territory on the West Bank.

"As long as people are living between the Israeli hammer and the Palestinian Authority anvil, I don't believe anyone is going to succeed in fighting violence," said Eid, the rights activist.



John Glenn, back right, waves as the Discovery crew heads for the launch pad

PHOTOGRAPH BY DOUG MILLS

Glenn Returns to Space After 36-Year Gap

Kathy Sawyer
in Cape Canaveral

JOHN GLENN, the first American to orbit the Earth, blasted off last week with six crewmates aboard the shuttle Discovery, fulfilling a lifelong yearning and earning another place in history by becoming the oldest man to travel in space.

Glenn's spacechip, with 20 times the thrust and 70 times the working room of his first, took off from a launch pad at the Kennedy Space Center thundering into a cloudless Florida sky. Although a loose door panel flew off and hit an engine valve during lift-off, officials said the incident presented no dangers and the launch was otherwise flawless.

As President Clinton watched from the roof of the launch control center about 3.5 miles away with the astronaut's families, Mercury astronaut Scott Carpenter, on the shuttle communications loop, intoned the same words he had spoken spontaneously 36 years ago near the same spot: "Godspeed, John Glenn."

While some critics have dismissed the flight as a publicity stunt of limited scientific value, Glenn's odyssey attracted some

3,000 journalists and enormous public interest. Hundreds of thousands of spectators jammed causeways, roads and beaches

to witness the lift-off, which was carried live by almost every television and cable network.

All this hubbub came to a focus at T-minus zero, when the 4.5 million pound shuttle responded to the sudden thrust of 7-million pounds and thundered up and eastward, the white heat of its churning main engines still visible as a bright daytime star for several minutes, until it hurtled out of sight about 70 miles down range and 43 miles high.

The countdown had twice been delayed, for a total of 20 nerve-racking minutes, first by a minor technical glitch and then to allow off some errant airplanes that intruded into the 600 square miles of cleared air space around the launch complex.

Another cause for tension came later. In replays of the launch on high-definition TV, flight controllers determined that a panel had flipped loose from the orbiter's tail at the moment the powerful main engines were started, dinging the center main engine valve. Launch manager Donald R. McMonagle said the team will do a thorough analysis but "at this point we know of no impact to the mission."

Eight and a half minutes after lift-off, the space travelers reached the magic moment of "MECO" — main engine cutoff. The world of the shuttle cabin went silent, the sky had gone

black, the apogee tank had fallen away, and they settled into orbit at a velocity of about 18,000 miles per hour. And they were weightless. Back in orbit, Glenn soon let go the straps and floated out of his seat — back in orbit after 36 years.

Discovery commander USAF Lt. Col. Curt Brown Jr. and copilot USAF Lt. Col. Steven W. Lindsey maneuvered their winged craft into an orbit about 340 miles high — three times as high as Glenn's first flight.

The nine-day, \$400 million mission, the 92nd flight of the shuttle program, carries an international crew in pursuit of an unusually wide variety of research goals. In these respects, NASA says, the flight foreshadows a "new era" for human spaceflight. This phase is to begin in less than a month when a Russian Proton rocket lifts off carrying the first component of the planned, U.S.-led international space station, a million-ton research laboratory to be constructed in space by spacewalking astronauts over a five-year period.

While the public focus to date has been on Glenn's research on aging and the effects of weightlessness, Discovery carries more than 80 experiments and 11 tons of cargo that, officials say, span the realm from the inner universe of the human body to studies of the sun.

Pinochet Arrest Deepens Rift in Chile

Anthony Faola in Santiago

SOLA SIERRA, who last saw her husband alive in December 1976 when he was hauled away by then-president Augusto Pinochet's secret police, felt oddly invigorated after hearing news of Pinochet's victory in a London court room last week.

"This only motivates our fight even more," Sierra, 71, president of the Chilean Association for the Disappeared, said of the court's verdict that British authorities did not have the right to arrest Pinochet. The former president was taken into custody in London last month at the request of a Spanish judge seeking his

extradition to stand trial for killings, torture and kidnappings of his political opponents during his rule.

"Even if he comes back, we have gained from this," Sierra said. "We have proven that Pinochet isn't untouchable, and that can only further our fight."

Cristian Labbe Galilea, a former Pinochet cabinet minister and now the powerful mayor of a wealthy Santiago suburb, was equally as energized. "I think we Chileans have been even more united politically, and it's because of this nightmare in London," said Labbe. "This has only strengthened us."

The drums of Pinochet's arrest

won't end when — as most people here expect — he is whisked back to Santiago on a Chilean military jet that has been readied for the journey.

Politicians and political experts here say the incident has profoundly shaken and polarized Chile to a point not seen since before the transition to democracy in 1990, when Pinochet relinquished the presidency after 17 years in power.

On both left and right, there is a sense of growing civil disillusion. If Pinochet returns here, he will face an emboldened opposition that is pressing the government to disclose the details of the "secret autopsy" that was granted to Pinochet in 1990.

Meanwhile, senators are gathering names on a petition to try to force the government of President Eduardo Frei to hold a referendum on amnesty laws that protect Pinochet and the military from being investigated in connection with the killing or disappearance of 3,000 dissidents during his rule. But he will also find a right wing, now fractured into two political parties, more united than ever in its name.

Chile has been so unsettled by the arrest, political experts say, that it will bear heavily on the 1999 presidential elections. "I think we Chileans built a sort of protective barrier in relation to our past which has suddenly blown up in our face. We've discovered that the transition to democracy hasn't worked, and that we remain just as

divided as we were before Pinochet stepped down," said Ricardo Israel, director of the Institute for Political Science at the University of Chile. In recent days thousands of Chileans have gone into the streets to support Pinochet's right-wing supporters, on the other his left-wing opponents. Demonstrations have also turned violent as police used tear gas and water cannons to disperse the crowds.

The decision of President Frei, who heads the ruling center-right coalition, to call for Pinochet's release is a decision, "I think we Chileans built a sort of protective barrier in relation to our past which has suddenly blown up in our face. We've discovered that the transition to democracy hasn't worked, and that we remain just as

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22 INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS/APPOINTMENTS

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DEAN CLOSE JUNIOR SCHOOL

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email: dean@epi.net.co.uk

The Headmaster
Dean Close School
Cheltenham
Glos. GL51 6HR
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email: dean@epi.net.co.uk

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email: admissions@stclare.co.uk www.stclare.co.uk

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or
Fax: +44 (0) 161 839 4438
email: wick@guardian.co.uk

Department of English and Southern Arts

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We are looking for an active writer with a South Asian, African or Caribbean background, and a good record of publication in English. You will be asked to teach a course in creative writing and to offer informal support for post-colonial studies. For further information contact Dr Soha Singh on (01703) 594111.

Sally on Research Grants A, 1998-99 £12,720 per annum plus r.p.m. The post is available on a fixed term contract from 1 February 1999 until 30 June 1999.

Application forms and further particulars may be obtained from the Personnel Department (A), University of Southampton, Highfield, Southampton SO17 1BJ, telephone: (01703) 597724, email: recruit@soton.ac.uk or telefax: (01703) 595818. Applications, which should be accompanied by a full CV (7 copies for UK applicants and 1 from overseas), should be returned no later than 31 November 1998. Please quote reference number A/178. Working for equal opportunities.

University of Southampton

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£26,675 - £32,763

CHS requires an international health care development specialist to lead a team of research, teaching and training staff in the field of health care development. The post holder will be based in the School of Health, Behaviour and Society, University of Southampton, and will have a range of duties including: leading a team of research, teaching and training staff; leading a team of research, teaching and training staff; leading a team of research, teaching and training staff.

A Senior Lecturer is required to support and shape the further development of CHS as a research academic centre in the field of international health. Applicants should have a significant record of achievement in research and teaching, and a commitment to research and publication. International health care development is a priority for CHS.

Interested applicants are encouraged to contact the Director, Professor Alan Watts, for an informal discussion. Tel: +44 (0) 117 759 5491. An application form, further particulars and an application form can be obtained from Human Resources, Queen Margaret College, Clarendon Terrace, Edinburgh EH12 4TH Tel: +44 (0) 131 127 1291. 24 hours quoting Reference No. CHS/98/99.

Completed application forms should be returned by Friday 20 November 1998.

Queen Margaret College
EDINBURGH established 1875

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A vacancy exists for a qualified Medical Statistician to work in an active clinical and research department. The principal responsibility will be statistical support investigating the health effects of drugs in clinical trials. The post holder will also be responsible for the design of clinical trials, the analysis of data and the presentation of results. The post holder will also be responsible for the design of clinical trials, the analysis of data and the presentation of results.

The starting salary will be in the range £17,000 - £22,241 (incl. pension). The position is available for one year in the first instance. To apply please send a CV with the names and addresses of two referees, who may be contacted, to the Personnel Office, Imperial College Science, Technology and Medicine, 120, South Kensington Street, London SW7 2BZ. Quoting reference OCM/98/2. Closing date 21st November.

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A variety of Scholarships available

A caring and highly successful school in a safe rural environment

School of Geography

As part of a major programme of expansion, the University is supporting the School of Geography to expand its research and teaching activities. The School wishes to appoint people with proven track records of high quality research and publications and, if possible, research grants. It is looking for lively and innovative teaching capability as part of the University's policy of 'Balanced Excellence'.

Chair in Human Geography
(Ref: 98/Q028C)

The School wishes to appoint a Chair in Human Geography to help lead Geography's research towards the next RAE. We are inviting applications who hold an honours degree or equivalent in Geography or a cognate discipline and a PhD in a relevant field who can demonstrate outstanding calibre and achievement with a proven track record in quality research publications, grant awards and with research leadership skills. A substantial record of relevant tertiary level teaching is also required. Applicants will be considered from any area of human geography research to expand the School's existing research strengths in both historical and contemporary human geography. These include research on national and political identity, landscape and power, socio-spatial analysis of labour markets, ethnic symbolism and the social construction of space, urban change, the geography of island communities, GIS and census population modelling, the history of geographical knowledge and spaces in science. The person appointed will have a role in the appointment of a lecturer in human geography which will be advertised subsequently.

Salary is negotiable within the professional range, with eligibility for USS, and there is an attractive package to assist with relocation and resettlement expenses.

Lecturer in Human Geography
(Ref: 98/P103C)

Required to complement and augment existing research in the School as well as to provide development of innovative research in the successful candidate's area. Applicants must have an honours degree or equivalent in Geography or other related discipline and a PhD or equivalent qualification in a relevant area. A proven research record is essential and the ability to attract research grants is desirable. The successful candidate should also be willing to teach at undergraduate level in human geography and experience in innovative teaching methods is desirable.

Salary Scale: Lecturer Grade A, £18,608 - £21,815 Lecturer Grade B, £22,720 - £26,046, with eligibility for USS. Assistance with relocation as appropriate.

Further information about the School facilities can be obtained on application or via the School's Website: <http://www.soc.su.ac.uk/geogsci>
Closing date Friday, 11 December 1998.

Further particulars quoting appropriate reference numbers are available from the Personnel Office, The Queen's University of Belfast, BT7 1NN, Tel: 01232 373044 or 373045 (telex) fax: 01232 324944.

Contributed to an Equal Opportunities policy and selection on merit. The University seeks to appoint people from all sections of the community. It is an affirmative action programme. It particularly welcomes applications from women for academic posts.

The Queen's University of Belfast

Director

Applications are invited from Commonwealth citizens for the position of Director of the Commonwealth Foundation. Salary for UK residents/British nationals £66,961 gross (including UK Benefits Allowance and subject to 'Internal' income tax), for overseas residents/non-British nationals £72,944 free of tax (including Expatriation Allowance) plus other allowances. Initial contract 2-3 years, renewable.

The Commonwealth Foundation is a London based inter-governmental organisation that supports capacity building and skill sharing within the non-governmental (NGO) sector of the Commonwealth. It also provides grants and underpins programme activities in the areas of: professional development and exchange, and the arts and culture.

The Director is responsible for the overall management and direction of the Foundation and its work, including the implementation of strategic initiatives in the areas of: promoting effective NGO-government relations, and a study of the evolving role of civil society.

Candidates must be able to demonstrate:

- In-depth knowledge of Commonwealth and international development issues, and commitment to the People's Commonwealth;
- A strong track record in organisational management and strategy development;
- Excellent communication and diplomatic skills;
- Adequate experience and understanding in respect of the NGO sector and its operation, and in particular its interface with government, the private sector and other players in civil society.

For an information pack, please telephone +44 (0) 171 930 0014, fax +44 (0) 171 839 8157, or e-mail: info@commonwealth.org.uk

Not shortlisted candidates only will be contacted by 31 March

Closing date 15 January 1999.

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UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
TRINITY COLLEGE

SCHOOL OF CLASSICS

Applications are invited for the following appointments in the School of Classics, enable from 1 October 1999 (or as soon as possible thereafter).

CHAIR OF LATIN (1870)

The vacancy has arisen because of the appointment of the previous holder, Professor Kathleen Coleman, to a professorship at Harvard University. Candidates should have a distinguished record of scholarly research in one or more areas of Latin studies. Administrative duties within the School of Classics will include Headship of the School, in accordance with College's practice.

Appointment will be made at an appropriate point of the professorial salary scale, currently IR45,447 - IR458,708. Further particulars relating to this appointment may be obtained from:

Michael Gleeson
Secretary to the College
West Theatre
Trinity College
Dublin 2
Tel: +353-1-608-2197/1722
Facsimile: +353-1-671-0037
E-mail: dmurphy@tcd.ie

To whom formal applications should be sent, to arrive before the preferred closing date, Friday, 11 December 1998.

Trinity College is an equal opportunities employer.

APPOINTMENTS & COURSES 23

ASSOCIATION OF COMMONWEALTH UNIVERSITIES

UNIVERSITY	POST	REF. NO.
AFRICA AND THE CARIBBEAN		
Botswana	Co-ordinator (SLA)	W46959
Botswana	Environmental Education Programme	W46961
Botswana	SL Geology	W46972
Botswana	SL Geology	W46973
Botswana	AP Management	W46974
Botswana	L Management	W46975
Botswana	L Social Work	W46976
Botswana	SL Mechanical Engineering	W46977
UWI (Jamaica)	PBS Library & Information Studies	W46978
UWI (Jamaica)	Financial Accounting	W46979
UWI (Jamaica)	UWI (Jamaica)	W46980
UWI (Jamaica)	UWI (Jamaica)	W46981
UWI (Jamaica)	UWI (Jamaica)	W46982
UWI (Jamaica)	UWI (Jamaica)	W46983
UWI (Jamaica)	UWI (Jamaica)	W46984
AUSTRALIA		
Griffith (Queensland)	SLA Marketing	W46985
Queensland	L Education	W46986
Queensland	L Disability/Special Needs Education	W46987
Tasmania	L Women's Studies	W46988
Tasmania	L Journalism & Media Studies	W46989
Tasmania	L Sociology	W46990
HONG KONG		
Hong Kong	P Chair Anaesthesiology	W46991
HK Baptist Univ	ASP Education Studies	W46992
NEW ZEALAND		
Canterbury	L Sociology (Ethnic Relations)	W46993
Canterbury	L Sociology (Feminist Analysis)	W46994
Canterbury	L Zoology	W46995
PACIFIC		
Bruni	SL Mathematics	W46996
Bruni	SL Critical & Creative Thinking	W46997
Bruni	SL Sociology/Anthropology	W46998
Bruni	APSLA Information Technology	W46999
Bruni	SL Development, Planning and Management of Urban Areas	W47000
Bruni	AP/SLA Quantitative Methods, Production and Operations Management	W47001
Bruni	AP/SLA English Language & Applied Linguistics	W47002
Bruni	SL Accounting & Finance	W47003
Bruni	AP/SLA Marketing & International Business	W47004
Bruni	PIAPSLA Islamic Studies	W47005
Bruni	SLA Physical Education	W47006
Bruni	SL Technical Teacher Education	W47007
Bruni	PIAP Special Education	W47008
Bruni	SL Computer Science	W47009
PIBUT (Papua New Guinea)		
Administrative P. Professor	ASP - Assistant Professor	W47010
SL - Senior Lecturer	L - Lecturer	W47011
SL - Senior Lecturer	L - Lecturer	W47012

For further details of any of the above staff vacancies please contact ACU (Administrative), 20 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF, UK (Internal Tel: +44 171 387 8872 ext. 200 (UK office hours); fax +44 171 385 5385; email: ap@acu.ac.uk; quoting reference number if possible). Details will be sent by email/first class post. A sample copy of the publication *Appointments in Commonwealth Universities*, including subscription details, is available from the same source.

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